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the Library of All Souls College at Oxford, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and in the Royal Public Library at Dresden (for the last see Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1821, No. 4505). The title-page reads: *M. T. C. Tusculanarum Quæstionum Aphorismi . . . cum explicatione Hieronymi Wolfii . . . Basileæ . . . per Eusebium Episcopium, M. D. LXXX.*

Villari concludes that the story of the dream, although nowhere mentioned in Machiavelli's writings, was suggested by various daring passages in the works of the author of the *Principe*, and may even have been related in jest by him, though not when he was lying at the point of death. This view he thinks supported by Hotman's statement that Machiavelli had expressed in his works a preference for the infernal regions. The original text of Wolf, which I have consulted at Oxford, indicates clearly, however, that Hotman was quoting from memory, and erred in saying that the idea was to be found in Machiavelli's writings. In an account of various "Voces blasphemæ," to illustrate the passage "Non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus . . ." (I, 49), he says (vol. I, p. 594, under the marginal heading "Machiauellii cælum"): "Nec tamen desunt belli (si Diis placet) et faceti homunculi: qui Machiauellum, scelerum magistrum, et perniciosum principum assentatorem, secuti, se Inferos cœlis antepone, ioco scilicet, dicant: quod cœlum non nisi pauculos vetulos monachos, et superstitiosas aniculas habeat: apud Inferos uerò maxima frequentia degant pontifices, reges, Cæsares, principes, et infiniti bellissimi homunculi, et mulierculæ elegantissimæ." The fact that the same idea had been expressed by Teofilo Folengo in 1521 (see Suchier's note to the passage quoted) makes it seem likely that Machiavelli's enemies, perhaps shortly after his death in 1527, fathered this ancient witticism upon him in order to blacken his reputation. It thus appears probable that "quel celebrato sogno," referred to by Busini in his letter to Varchi in 1549 (see Villari, *l. c.*, p. 368), was substantially the same as that narrated by Binet a century after Machiavelli's death.

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ical Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, to Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to Mr. A. Whitaker, of All Souls College Library, Oxford.

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A NOTE ON THE "SCHEIRER RHYTHMUS."

Among the versions of the allegory of the *Four Daughters of God* discussed by Miss Traver in her excellent dissertation on this subject,¹ the so-called "Scheirer Rythmus," a thirteenth century Latin poem edited from a codex in the Bavarian cloister at Scheiren, by August Hartmann,² occupies a somewhat exceptional position. The use of the popular Goliardic stanza and the introduction into the allegory of a new motive, that of a dispute between Faith and Reason, are found, so far as I know, only here. It has apparently escaped the notice of those who have had occasion to mention the *Rhythmus* that the poem bears a close relation to a Latin "debate" in the same measure, the work, probably, of Philippe de Grève, Chancellor of the University of Paris and writer of theological works and verse at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The poem is entitled in the unique manuscript which preserves it "Dyalogus fidei et rationis compositus a Phylippo Cancellario Parisense . . ."; it is edited with other poetry of Philippe's by R. Peiper.³

In the "Scheirer Rhythmus" the contention between the daughters, in which Justice and Mercy (*Pietas*) alone take part, is followed by an account of the marriage of the Virgin. While the heavenly hosts are singing the nuptial hymn, Reason appears and disturbs their harmony with philosophic objections. She is represented by five heretics, Arrius, Marcion, Plato, Nestor, and Jovinianus, who set forth their arguments one after another in a single stanza each. Reason

¹ *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs), 1907.

² Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 173-189.

³ *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, vii, 409 ff.

herself stands by to support them; but Faith puts scepticism to silence by rebuking Reason and expounding the mysteries of the incarnation and virgin birth. In the "*Dyalogus fidei et rationis*" this dispute is not an incident but the main theme. The author has risen from his bed at daybreak and is perplexing himself with philosophic questions when he overhears a contention between Faith and Reason. The two debate in short, alternate speeches; their arguments are much the same as those which appear in the *Rhythmus*, but here Reason speaks for herself and the dispute is much more extended. The two poems are definitely connected, however, by the fact that of the fourteen stanzas which compose the reason and faith debate in the *Rhythmus*, at least four are found in almost identical form in the *Dyalogus*. The following citations will illustrate the correspondence between the two texts:

'*R.* "Quenam te presumptio facit disputare
Contra naturalia? nam vis deliare,
Dum vel partum virginis audes predicare,
Vel in tribus unicum deum adorare."'
Dyalogus, stanza 5.

'*Arrius.* "Quas laudatis nuptiae quenam sunt aut quare?
Contra naturalia vultis disputare
Presumentes virginis partum predicare
Vel in tribus unicum deum adorare."'
Rhythmus, 38.

The first stanza quoted is the beginning of Reason's argument in the *Dyalogus*; the second is the first argument on the side of Reason in the *Rhythmus*. Faith's opening stanza is identical in both poems except that the *Dyalogus* has "Fides *ad hec* retulit," and "Procul a sacrario nostro *es* remota"; where the *Rhythmus* has "Fides *ergo* retulit," and "Procul a sacrario nostro *sis* remota." Similarly stanzas 27 and 28 in the *Dyalogus* correspond to 48 and 49 of the *Rhythmus*; the last two lines of 25 are related to the last two of 43, and the last two of 30 identical with those of 42.

That one of these poems is indebted to the other is obvious. So far as our knowledge of the dates of the two is concerned, either might be the original. The *Rhythmus* was formerly ascribed to Konrad, a monk of the cloister of Scheiren, whom we know to have written the manuscript containing it some time during the abbacy of

Heinrich (1226-59); but Hartmann, reasoning from inaccuracies in the text is inclined to believe that he was only the copyist. The *Dyalogus* must have been written before 1233, the year, according to a contemporary chronicle, of Philippe's death.⁴ But if we have no external indication of the relative date of the *Dyalogus* and the *Rhythmus*, the poems themselves furnish clear evidence that the author of the latter was the borrower. The presence of the Reason and Faith dispute in the *Rhythmus* is certainly strange. There was nothing in the original allegory which would easily have suggested it, and Hartmann's explanation of its significance—that it is intended as a human parallel to the divine contest of Justice and Mercy—is hardly borne out by the poem itself. In any case the introduction of this new element is a striking innovation. As the subject of an independent poem, on the other hand, the dispute is natural enough. The *Dyalogus* belongs to the familiar and well-defined literary type of the *conflictus* or debate, a form which enjoyed a great degree of popularity in the Latin literature of the period in which the *Dyalogus* must have been composed; the poem bears a close resemblance in form to the dialogues printed by Wright in *The Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*. The opposition of faith and reason must have been familiar indeed to a theologian, and the idea of expressing this contrast in a debate would easily occur to Philippe, whom we know to have written at least one other poem of the kind.⁵ It seems more probable, therefore, that the *Dyalogus* was written before the *Rhythmus* and used by the author of the latter, than that the Reason and Faith incident was picked out of its setting by Philippe and used as the subject of an independent work.

This conclusion is established beyond a doubt by a consideration of the parallel passages as they appear in the two poems. In almost every case there is some indication that the material has been adjusted to a new setting in the *Rhythmus*. In at least one instance the borrowed lines are obviously out of place. The author of the *Dyalogus* represents the contestants as already engaged

⁴Peiper, pp. 409-10.

⁵Cf. Peiper, pp. 424 and 418.

in their dispute when he begins to report it; and so Reason says to her opponent:

"Quenam te presumptio facit disputare
contra naturalia?" etc.

In the *Rhythmus* the corresponding remark with which Arrius opens the discussion is wholly *inapropos*:

"Quas laudatis nuptiae quenam sunt aut quare?
Contra naturalia vultis disputare," etc.

They have indeed been praising the nuptials but they have not been disputing. In adapting the stanza to a new context the writer of the *Rhythmus* was forced by the rime to keep this one meaningless word. The evidence furnished by the other passages is slighter but hardly less conclusive. The line "Fides ad hec (ergo) retulit paulisper commota," for example, has a very definite meaning in the *Dyalogus*, for the author has previously described her calmness; in the *Rhythmus* it is not particularly significant. The change to the imperative in the third line of the same stanza interrupts the course of the thought. The verb *predicare* ("assert," "affirm"), in the first and second stanzas quoted above, is more natural in the *Dyalogus* than in the *Rhythmus*, for in the latter poem the event referred to has not yet taken place, and we should naturally expect *predicere* ("predict").

If, then, it is reasonably certain that the borrowing is on the side of the author of the *Rhythmus*, we may, I think, assume that the idea of employing the reason-faith motive in the allegory was first suggested to him by the *Dyalogus*. I am prepared to go further and say that the form of the "Scheirer Rhythmus" as a whole was largely determined by Philippe de Grève's debate. So far as I know, the *Rhythmus* is the only version of the allegory written in this measure. It is to be noted also that by using only Justice and Mercy instead of all four of the Daughters of God and by condensing the introductory narrative into a single stanza, the author has brought the poem nearer to a disputation than the versions of this allegory usually are. Both the choice of measure and this tendency to reduce the elaborate allegory to a mere dispute might perhaps be attributed to the influence of the debate in general, but, as we have seen, the author of the *Rhythmus* had a par-

ticular debate very freshly in mind when he composed his poem, and it is natural to think of this as his chief model.

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ONE OF THE SOURCES OF THE QUEEN OF CORINTH.

That the *Gesta Romanorum* was known to the Elizabethans is attested by the fact that there are several allusions to it in the plays of the period. It has not, however, been pointed out that Fletcher, Massinger, and Field are indebted to one of the tales for the denouement of the *Queen of Corinth*. I have appended Wynkyn de Worde's version of the tale (E. E. T. S.: Extra Series 33, p. 440) and enough of Act v, sc. 4 of the *Queen of Corinth* to reveal the indebtedness.

"In Rome dwelled somtyme a myghty Emperour and a wyse, named Edfenne / the whiche ordeyned for lawe, y^t who somever rauysshed a mayde, sholde be at her wyll / whether she wolde put hym to deth, or that she wolde have hym to her husbände. It befelle after on a daye, that a man rauyshed upon a nyght two maydens / the first damoyzell desyred that he sholde dye, & the seconde desyred weddyng. The rauysshers was taken, and ledde before the Iuge, that sholde satysfye bothe these damoyssels thurgh his wysdome and ryghtfulnesse. The fyrst mayde ever desyred the deth, accordyng to the law. And than sayd the seconde, "And I desyre hym for to be my husbände / for lyke wyse as thou haste the lawe for the / in lyke wyse I have it for me. And neuerthelesse my petycion is more and better than yours, for it is more charytable / therfore me thynketh in my reason, that the Iustyce sholde gyue sentence with me." Than y^e Iustyce understandyng the grete mercy of the seconde mayden, aue Iugement, that he sholde wedde her; and soo it was done."

"Queen. . . . Read the law.

Clerk (Reading). Lycurgus the nineteenth against rapes: It is provided, and publicly enacted and confirmed, That any man of what degree soever, offering violence to the chastity of a virgin shall, ipso facto, be liable to her accusation, and according to the said law be censured; ever provided, that it shall be in the choice of the said virgin so abused, either to compel the offen-